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Chairman: Mr. MROZIEWICZ (Poland)

CONTENTS

- General debate on all disarmament items (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. AWOONOR (Ghana): On behalf of the delegation of Ghana, I wish first of all to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the Bureau on your election to steer the affairs of the First Committee of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session. Ghana is confident that under your able chairmanship, we will witness a fruitful session. We assure you of our full-hearted cooperation.

The end of the cold war has created opportunities for the international community, particularly the United Nations, to establish the foundations for lasting international peace and security. Peace and security that endure cannot depend on outmoded concepts of deterrence and balance of power, which were accompanied by an unprecedented escalation of arms build-up over and above the legitimate requirements of national security recognized under Article 51 of the Charter. Local - not even regional - conflicts, which could otherwise have been resolved without resort to arms became internationalized in the name of ideology. The legitimate concerns of the States Members of the Organization became drowned in the din of ideological battles.

With the end of the ideological confrontation period, the world has begun to witness important initiatives, particularly in the field of disarmament. The successful implementation of the Treaty on intermediate-range missiles - the INF Treaty - the destruction of a whole class of nuclear weapons - has been followed by commendable measures in the other classes of nuclear weapons, namely short-range and intercontinental missiles. Even before the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), signed in Moscow on 31 July this year, could be ratified by the United States and the Soviet Union, the leaders of the two

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

countries took steps beyond what had been agreed under the Treaty so as to further reduce their nuclear weapons. The initiative taken by President Bush on 27 September this year on tactical and battlefield nuclear weapons, artillery shells and short-range ballistic missiles, intercontinental ballistic missiles and the size of the armed forces did not evoke cynical responses as the world would have expected in the cold war era. Instead, President Gorbachev increased the momentum of voluntary reductions in nuclear weapons with equally important initiatives on 5 October 1991. We are pleased to note, moreover, that he is in a favourable position to do so.

The legitimate concerns of the world over strategic defence measures are beginning to be addressed. Even though it has been pointed out that it does not represent any real change in policy, the intimation by the United States of its willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union specific limits on anti-missile systems gives hope that the seeming inconsistency between reductions in nuclear arms and the START programme could be removed. Confidence cannot be built on another race involving nuclear defence systems. We urge the United States and the Soviet Union to continue with their initiatives until the world becomes free of all nuclear weapons. We expect the other nuclear Powers to join freely in the battle for peace and security in the world.

In this regard, we wish to stress how important it is for the United Nations to take appropriate measures to secure the world against both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear arms. Preparations have to be made as soon as possible to ensure that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is extended beyond 1995. We do recognize with appreciation the decision taken by France and China to accede to the Treaty.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

We are particularly gratified at the efforts to forestall proliferation in Africa. The accession to the NPT by Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and the declared intention of Namibia to do the same, are commendable. At long last, the regime in South Africa has recognized the usefulness of submitting to the safeguards inspection regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

While Ghana has observed the substantial reduction in the levels of testing of nuclear devices, the one-year moratorium recently announced by the Soviet Union deserves special mention. On this score, we wish to stress the need for strict compliance with this moratorium.

The weapons of mass destruction are not limited to nuclear arsenals alone. Chemical and biological weapons continue to pose a threat to mankind. Even though the world has yet to start the process of ridding itself of these weapons, the end of the cold war has encouraged important indications. A lot of groundwork has been done in the forum of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to produce a chemical weapons convention. We would urge that the momentum be maintained towards a speedy conclusion of this work. The Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Destruction and Non-Production of Chemical Weapons and the very praiseworthy statement by President Bush of the renunciation by the United States of the use of chemical weapons, even for purposes of retaliation should encourage all members to work towards completion of the drafting of the chemical weapons convention. The important conclusions of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the biological and toxin weapons Convention of 1972 should promote more nearly universal adherence to the Convention and implementation of its provisions, particularly those relating to verification.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

The removal of, or reductions in, nuclear arsenals and the efforts at elimination of chemical, biological and toxin weapons should not necessarily make the world safe for conventional warfare. Disarmament should be complete. It is for this reason that we welcome the successful conclusion of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) in November last year.

While all these measures are commendable and should be encouraged, my delegation wishes to stress that they are not likely to secure international peace and security if they do not lead to the establishment of international structures that command general acceptance by the international community. In brief, a world order that seeks to perpetuate interests that prevailed before and after the Second World War - a world order that only assumes a resumption of the history of domination and exploitation - cannot guarantee international peace and security.

And yet, that seems to be the road the world is taking. The collapse of the socialist empire has been interpreted as an ideological victory that should dictate the wholesale resumption of the values and practices that gave rise to socialism.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

The lesson that the world should want to learn from the Gulf war is the danger of horizontal proliferation of weapons. As a result, measures are being proposed predicated on the untenable assumption that the peace and security of the world would be assured by the concentration of weapons in the hands of a few. The Nuclear Supplies Club, the Missiles Technology Control Regime and the Australian Group have all emerged not to secure the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons but to ensure that others do not possess them.

Ghana is rather concerned that, in spite of the certainty that East-West relations will not return to the era of confrontation, resistance still persists to the transformation of the partial test-ban Treaty into the comprehensive test-ban Treaty. The indisputable linkage between the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty and the elimination of nuclear weapons is still not appreciated by the nuclear Powers.

Instead, pressures continue to multiply for disarming the rest of the world. It has all too soon been forgotten that the rest of the world was armed by the same proponents of disarmament who, as if by coincidence, are at one and the same time the leading exporters of arms and the permanent members of the Security Council - a body entrusted with the primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. Ghana has taken appropriate measures to reduce its expenditure on its armed forces. We speak of peace through disarmament not out of any consideration of securing advantages to ourselves. We do so out of genuine concern for global justice, for we believe that peace that is built on justice lasts longer than peace that is built on might or threats.

In this regard, we wish to state that we have carefully examined the study of the Secretary-General, assisted by Government experts, on ways and means to promote transparency in the international transfer of conventional

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

arms on a universal and non-discriminatory basis. We can join the initiative to establish a United Nations register for the transfer of arms. All efforts should, however, be deployed to maximize the impact of this register. To that extent, Ghana is not persuaded by the unexamined assumption that the register will help build mutual confidence and strengthen overall security. It is true that military might is often built as a reaction to a country's assessment of the military strength of its adversary or potential adversary. It is equally true that the certain knowledge of such strength that the register will promote could also encourage an incipient arms race.

An even more important consideration is the discriminatory nature of the register. General Assembly resolution 43/75 identified two main features that should characterize the promotion of transparency in international transfers of conventional arms. These are universality and non-discrimination. The proposed register does not address these features. It does not cover the production and stockpiling of arms. The transfer of arms should necessarily include transfers from production to user and stockpile locations. It is the view of our delegation that a lot of work still has to be done on the proposed register to enhance the prospects of its effectiveness as a contribution to disarmament. It is accordingly suggested that the study contained in document A/46/301 should be passed on by the Secretary-General to Member States for their study and observations.

The history of the world before the Second World War was one of naked domination and economic exploitation. It was a world of empires and far-flung colonies. For over 40 years after the war, efforts aimed at reconstructing the world away from domination and economic exploitation split the world along ideological lines. The confrontation and tension of the cold war years generated an unprecedented arms race based on the untenable concepts of

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

balance of power and deterrence - concepts that appeared to sanction the Hobbesian state of nature in which only the fittest survive. The cost of the arms race, apart from posing a threat to the peace it sought to maintain, is the diversion of resources away from economic and human development. Such diversion could not be sustained. Dialogue and cooperation have emerged once again as plausible instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The history of domination, economic exploitation and bully tactics cannot and should not be resumed if we want to lay firm foundations for international peace and security. Disarmament should be considered as a package which requires contributions from all. The Conference on Disarmament should be recognized as the appropriate multilateral forum for negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations. It should therefore open its doors to a more democratic membership. Let the world resist the temptation to secure the peace of the world by disarming the majority, with the few constituting themselves into the policemen of the world. The lessons of colonialism, which began and survived on military might alone supplemented with a massive dose of racism, have not been lost on the world.

Mr. ARTEAGA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the delegation of Venezuela, I take pleasure in expressing our sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. We are confident that, under your guidance, we will achieve important results. We also congratulate the other members of the Bureau.

We are seeing a very different international reality to that which existed only a few years ago. Recent events, which we would not hesitate to qualify as historic, have made longstanding antagonisms and intransigence obsolete and have enabled in particular the emergence of better prospects

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

for peace and understanding among nations. We have left far behind the duels of the cold war which had for so many years mortgaged the future of nations with a relentless nuclear arms race.

The end of this century will see the beginning of what might be a new era of opportunity, an age which, of course, also carries its owns risks and potential conflicts of various kinds. For that reason, when we now talk of a new world order, and when in unprecedented circumstances the search is proposed for a broader, multidimensional and interdependent system of international security, we must ensure that such plans will benefit all peoples and that the United Nations will play a decisive role in this process.

The dialogue and openness characteristic of the new international situation have contributed to the solution of conflicts. They have helped give rise to agreements on disarmament and arms control, confidence-building measures and various initiatives pertaining to the nuclear arms race and non-proliferation. Even such a serious and unfortunate crisis as the Gulf war has served to heighten the international community's awareness of the threat posed by the use of weapons of mass destruction and of the need to adopt concrete measures to neutralize such dangers.

The intensive cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union led to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which was made possible by a redefinition of the codes of conduct between the two countries, by the removal of ideology from their foreign policies and by a homogeneous perception of international security policy.

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

We want again to stress the significance of the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), and we note that such agreements could help support an international system increasingly based on confidence and transparency, and could act as catalysts for future universal disarmament instruments, instruments which would let us replace nuclear deterrence with a strategy based on common security.

Those considerations are particularly important today in the light of recent major initiatives by the United States and the Soviet Union, including unilateral decisions and bilateral proposals. We welcome such initiatives and hope that the various proposals will find concrete form, thus making a major contribution to efforts to reduce nuclear arsenals and eliminate certain categories of weapons.

Yet the final cessation of nuclear testing is not being considered. Nor are measures to halt the development of space-based defensive systems, or an end to strategies based, on one pretext or another, on such systems; for that reason the threat of outer space becoming the site of an unbridled arms race persists. We know that as the nuclear-arms competition grows more sophisticated it is increasingly based on qualitative innovations - a seemingly irreversible trend.

Obviously, much remains to be done. In recent decades we have lived under the protection of a nuclear peace. Nevertheless - and this is not a quixotic exhortation - we have always aspired - and we shall always aspire - to progress towards the consolidation of a world peace in which doctrines of nuclear deterrence would play a steadily diminishing role.

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

The goal of a nuclear-test ban has been elusive, owing to the persistence of considerations based on the requirement of absolute security. The arguments used in sidestepping that goal have ranged from the alleged technical inadequacies of verification methods to the need to preserve the reliability, effectiveness and security of nuclear arsensals in order to strengthen nuclear deterrence. Those delaying tactics lack justification and make no political sense, for they are intended to postpone the attainment of a security objective we should all share, especially as today's international climate is supposedly more propitious for understanding.

We stress that measures to prevent the cycle of development and production of nuclear weapons, including testing, could lead to the cessation of the nuclear-arms race in the short term.

We must press forward with efforts to convert the 1963 partial nuclear-test-ban Treaty into a comprehensive treaty. In the view of my delegation it is necessary to make progress in this area, and to resume the work of the Amendment Conference, which began in January 1991, in conformity with the mandate of its Chairman.

We cannot fail to express our gratification at the recent announcement by President Gorbachev on the Soviet Union's declaration of a one-year unilateral moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests. We think that is a step in the right direction and that one way or another it should have a positive effect in promoting broader important objectives in that sphere.

Those considerations with regard to nuclear-weapon testing must be seen in the light of our expectations for the future non-proliferation regime, in particular the decision that will have to be taken in 1995 on extending the

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). It is in the interests of all to ensure compliance with horizontal and vertical non-proliferation rules and to promote full respect for all provisions of the Treaty.

As already said, it is to be hoped that the recent announcements by France and China of their intention to accede to the NPT will soon be realized. The strengthening, universality and credibility of the non-proliferation regime are among our main challenges for the coming years.

The year 1972 saw the adoption of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. We are now on the road to completing our negotiations on a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. For more than a decade the Conference on Disarmament has been engaged in intensive negotiations to that end. Many differences have been resolved, and today the draft convention is at an advanced stage of negotiation.

We must recognize that a decisive impetus in that process was the decision of the United States Government, announced by President Bush this year, not to use chemical weapons under any circumstances, including in retaliation, against any State, and to destroy all its chemical-weapons arsenals.

There remain questions relating to verification, in particular procedures for challenge inspection in cases of violations of the convention's provisions, and relating to the future decision-making political body of the convention, the executive council. Outstanding too is the question of financing the future organization for the prohibition of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

We are confident that outstanding issues can be resolved and that the negotiations on chemical weapons can be completed next year. In that way, the Conference on Disarmament will at last present the international community with an outstanding, concrete product; with that stimulus it will certainly be able to devote its attention to crucial items such as the prohibition of nuclear testing and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The Third Review Conference of the bacteriological-weapons Convention ended recently. Its Final Declaration includes important statements relating to strengthening that Convention. Among them we would highlight the recognition of the need to strengthen the Convention's verification machinery as a means of improving its effectiveness. In that connection, it was agreed to convene a meeting of governmental experts, open to all States parties, to consider and identify potential verification measures from the scientific and technical standpoint. We believe that meeting should go further, for what is needed is a broader, political view.

Environmental protection deserves special attention by the international community. The question of the relationship between disarmament, development and the environment must remain on the United Nations agenda. We believe that the study on possible applications for military resources reallocated to civilian environmental-protection purposes is a good start and a most useful contribution.

In terms of the use of technology and the manufacture and use of certain types of weapons, the arms race has had ecological consequences. Disarmament measures themselves could lead to activities with a serious impact on the environment, among them the use of systems for the destruction of weapons, the transport of weapons for destruction, the treatment of waste and the destruction of production facilities.

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

For those reasons we consider that all measures taken should include provisions guaranteeing the protection of the environment. The resources released as a result of the cessation of the arms race could be channelled into sustainable development, particularly of the developing countries, by means of the promotion of proper ecological management.

The continued application of scientific and technological advances to the production of weapons has a dual effect on disarmament. As a result of the development of more sophisticated weapon systems, in many cases the dividing line between conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction has become rather blurred. Furthermore, the cost of the technological input incorporated in the new weapons is increasingly onerous. In a world in which the scarcity of resources, the onslaught on the environment and the critical economic and social situation are among the major concerns of countries, the international community must give greater attention to this question in order to make sure that the progress in science and technology is used first of all for constructive purposes.

Regional disarmament may be an effective complement to worldwide measures and an important component of the gradual approach to world disarmament, as has been emphasized by the Disarmament Commission. The idea, as we have pointed out on other occasions, is that regional disarmament efforts should not be diluted and that regions should not be turned into isolated cases or "islands of peace" in the international system but rather should generate an impetus towards subsequent measures of broader scope and more universal application. Bilateral and regional actions must be strengthened by means of multilateral efforts. We must not forget the obvious fact of interdependence

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

in our time; nor must we forget that security is universal and integral, because it affects all of us.

From that point of view, we wish to emphasize again the importance of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean - the Treaty of Tlatelolco - which will be 25 years old next year. We also urge those countries of the region which have not yet become parties to the Treaty to sign and ratify it, thereby upholding the Latin American and Caribbean commitment to non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

We also wish to highlight the recent initiatives taken in Latin America for consolidating the region as a zone of peace and cooperation free from weapons of mass destruction. The declaration on the complete prohibition of chemical and biological weapons, signed by various countries in the Mendoza Accord and Peru's proposal for the signing of a declaration on the renunciation of the production and use of weapons of mass destruction constitute encouraging examples of a most promising trend.

The problem of the transfer of conventional weapons is coming increasingly to the fore these days. This is an alarming contemporary phenomenon which we must examine most carefully, particularly because of its potential impact on various areas where regional disputes may lead to breaches of international peace and security, and also because of its adverse effect on economic and social development - all of which makes the illicit arms trade more and more disturbing.

We feel that the time has come to take a more rational approach to this question, in international circumstances which, in the light of recent confidence-building measures in various regions, appear to be conducive to the

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

advancement of specific initiatives. We feel that the transfer of arms and of military technology, without prejudice to the principle of the self-defence of States, should be governed not only by economic and commercial considerations but also by criteria which would allow for transparency in the arms trade.

We have considered in detail the study on ways and means of promoting transparency in the transfers of conventional weapons, which contains recommendations that should be given special consideration by this Committee. We are interested in the possibility of establishing machinery, such as a United Nations register of arms transfers, of a universal, non-discriminatory and voluntary nature, as a significant confidence-building measure and as a first step in dealing with such a complex problem. To that end, we would support the establishment of a panel of experts which, together with the United Nations Secretary-General, would determine the precise modalities of the relevant machinery.

In the past there have been few reasons, if any, for us to feel satisfied with regard to the attainment of the goals of this Committee. On this occasion we can draw up a different balance sheet in the light of the favourable evolution in various aspects of our agenda and the reasonable prospects for future work. We wish to place on record our gratitude to the Department for Disarmament Affairs for the intensive work it has done and its efforts to promote the World Disarmament Campaign.

Disarmament and arms control are crucial elements in smoothing the way towards the new world order that is so much talked of these days and contributing, necessarily within the context of interdependence, to overcoming old and new problems confronting the international community. Changes in the

(Mr. Arteaga, Venezuela)

world scene have led to the expansion and strengthening of democracy and human rights in many countries. An equally desirable trend is the desire to move towards the democratization of international relations and towards world peace. Our task now is to reinforce the machinery provided by the United Nations for the promotion of international peace and security based not only on military and strategic considerations but also on economic and social development, the preservation of the environment and the protection of human rights. We must not squander the opportunities now available to us in these crucial times.

Mr. REFAQAT (Pakistan): It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, Sir, the heartiest felicitations on behalf of the Pakistan delegation on your assumption of the chairmanship of the First Committee. We are confident that, with your vast experience and diplomatic skills, you will successfully guide the deliberations of our Committee. I assure you of the full support and cooperation of my delegation.

Pakistan has welcomed the relaxation of international tensions. The cold war is behind us. The new era which is marked by a transformation of the East-West relations has presented us with challenges and valuable opportunites in strengthening international and regional peace and stability and in pursuing disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and confidence-building.

Pakistan has ceaselessly endeavoured to promote the cause of international peace and security and the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The conclusion of the strategic arms reduction Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union has been a source of immense gratification for us. The recent announcements of

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

President Bush and President Gorbachev of bold and far-reaching measures encompassing, among others, the elimination of land and sea-based tactical nuclear weapons represents major progress towards nuclear disarmament. We have welcomed these initiatives and sincerely hope that this process will eventually culminate in the total destruction of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

Pakistan has lent its full support to the initiative to convert the partial test-ban Treaty into a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We accordingly participated in the Amendment Conference held in January 1991 and supported the decision calling for the reconvening of the Conference at an appropriate time.

A comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty is long overdue. It is essential that efforts leading to the total and complete elimination of nuclear weapons be continued and accelerated. Undoubtedly, given the necessary political will, problems of a technical nature will not place any serious hurdles in the way of the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The response of the nuclear-weapon States will a litmus test of their intentions.

Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, nuclear-test-ban agreements could be arrived at among regional States in various parts of the world. These regional agreements would not only act as major confidence-building measures, but would also facilitate the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Pakistan has consistently expressed deep anguish over the threat posed to non-nuclear-weapon States by the nuclear arsenals of nuclear-weapon States. The ultimate assurance against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would be their complete elimination. However, until the attainment of this objective, the non-nuclear-weapon States must be provided with credible and legally binding guarantees against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Such assurances are vital for enhancing the sense of security in non-nuclear-weapon States. We look forward to concrete progress on the issue of negative security assurances, on which my delegation will be presenting a draft resolution again this year.

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

The global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other, are not mutually exclusive and should be pursued simultaneously in order to promote regional and international peace and security. The objective of peace and security is so important that all efforts, both global and regional, must be deployed to achieve that end. For a large number of States, perceived threats to their security and the need for military preparedness are primarily connected with conditions obtaining in their own regions. A regional approach offers the most realistic prospect for meaningful progress towards disarmament, since the threat perceptions and security concerns vary from region to region. This approach is steadily gaining ground as evidenced by the adoption of resolution 45/58 P on regional disarmament presented by Pakistan to the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. That resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority and we hope that the draft resolution we submit on this item this year will get even wider support.

There is a growing recognition in the world today that many security problems and preoccupations of States can be accorded fuller consideration in the regional context, where remedial measures that are suitable to specific conditions can be designed. The success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process, which has resulted in the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, bears testimony to the idea that regional consultations offer the best and most relevant answers to many of the problems of security and arms control. We hope that the new momentum towards greater confidence, security and cooperation in Europe will also give a boost to regional efforts in other parts of the world.

It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction for us that at the 1991 substantive session of the Disarmament Commission, a new item "Regional

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

approach to disarmament within the context of global security" was placed on the agenda. It is our expectation that the Disarmament Commission will, in due course, recommend concrete measures for regional disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and confidence-building measures in various regions with a view to promoting international peace and security.

In Pakistan's view, the following concrete measures can be taken to promote the regional approach to disarmament in the nuclear field: first, the objective of non-proliferation could be furthered by the conclusion of regional test-ban agreements; secondly, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, which provide an important mechanism for regional non-proliferation, should be seriously pursued; thirdly, regional States should jointly declare not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons and should reach agreements against attacks on each other's nuclear facilities; fourthly, regional conferences should be convened to discuss nuclear non-proliferation issues with a view to concluding legally binding agreements on nuclear non-proliferation at the regional and subregional levels.

In the conventional field the following steps could facilitate regional disarmament: first, dialogue among regional States for the settlement of outstanding differences and disputes through peaceful means in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter as well as relevant United Nations resolutions; second, joint renunciation by regional States of policies of interference, intervention, coercion, domination or hegemony, or the use or threat of use of force in any form whatsoever; third, negotiations among regional States for equitable and balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons ensuring equal and undiminished security for all States at the lowest level of armaments and armed forces; fourth, agreement among

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

regional States on restrictions and limitations on force deployments and movements; fifth, agreement to set up "hot lines" between Heads of State or Government and military commanders of regional States to communicate directly and immediately with each other whenever necessary; sixth, institutionalization of regular meetings among military commanders of regional States to avoid misperceptions and to overcome suspicions; seventh, agreement to invite observers from regional States to exercises conducted by any one of them.

Pakistan is fully committed to the objective of nuclear non-proliferation. At the same time, we call upon the nuclear Powers to move towards nuclear disarmament and promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and technology. The concept of nuclear non-proliferation must not be used as a pretext to prevent the developing countries from acquiring nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

In pursuance of our regional approach to nuclear non-proliferation, we have expressed willingness to accept an equitable and non-discriminatory regime for keeping South Asia free of nuclear weapons. In view of the renewed attention that is currently being focused on the dangers of nuclear proliferation, we would like to highlight some of the proposals made by Pakistan over the past two decades. These include the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, a proposal that has been repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly since 1974, and the issuance of a joint declaration by India and Pakistan renouncing the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear weapons. In 1979, we proposed an agreement with India on a system of bilateral inspection of all nuclear facilities on a reciprocal basis. In 1979

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

again, we proposed simultaneous acceptance of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards by India and Pakistan on all nuclear facilities. The same year we also expressed our readiness to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty, simultaneously with India. In 1987, we proposed the conclusion of a bilateral or regional nuclear-test-ban treaty. The same year, we also proposed the convening of an international conference on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of regional and other States.

(Mr. Refagat, Pakistan)

As recently as 6 June this year the Prime Minister of Pakistan put forward three important proposals for arms control and nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. These proposals call for: consultations by the United States, the Soviet Union and China with India and Pakistan to ensure nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia; bilateral arrangements or a regional regime for the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction in South Asia; and the mutual and balanced reduction of forces in South Asia, consistent with the principle of equal and undiminished security at the lowest level of armaments.

We are encouraged by the positive response of many countries to these proposals. We hope that India too will respond positively, particularly to the proposal for five-nation consultations on a nuclear-non-proliferation regime in South Asia. Nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia is a vital condition for regional peace, security and progress. The proposals made by our Prime Minister are in keeping with the spirit of the times and reflect our genuine desire that the South Asian countries should concentrate their efforts on economic development through the diversion, to development, of resources currently allocated to defence.

The Geneva negotiations on the chemical-weapons convention have acquired a qualitatively new content. While it has been found possible to identify all the elements necessary for the future convention, certain areas of disagreement prevail. Although we are happy at the renewed impetus that the negotiations received this year as a result of the change in the position of the United States on certain issues, it is imperative that due regard be shown for the views of all negotiating partners so that we may be able to draft a

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

convention that is comprehensive and fair and will therefore command the type of universal adherence that we all seek.

The question of arms transfers should be considered within the overall context of conventional-arms control, taking into account the indigenous defence-production capabilities, armaments stockpiles, military-technology transfers and security concerns of States.

Each country has the sovereign right to determine its own legitimate defence needs. Many small and medium-sized States, lacking indigenous defence-production capabilities, are obliged to depend upon international transfers of arms to meet their basic security needs. In some cases, threats to their security emanate from neighbouring States with large indigenous defence-production capabilities and armaments stockpiles. Obviously, the inability to acquire arms through international transfers would endanger the security of such small and vulnerable States. This would have a destabilizing effect on international peace and security. It is essential, therefore, that the issue of arms transfers be considered in an integrated manner - that is, together with related aspects that I mentioned earlier.

At its current session the First Committee has before it a study, prepared by a group of governmental experts, on ways and means of promoting transparency in international transfers of conventional arms. In this study the experts recommend the establishment of an arms-transfer register. Unfortunately, the study does not include a comprehensive analysis of the integrally related aspects of the proposal and its implications for the security of Member States and for regional and international peace and stability. Neither does it provide any details about the format of, and the procedures under, the proposed arms-transfer register.

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

In the view of my delegation, it would therefore be premature for the General Assembly, at its current session, to take a decision on the establishment of the proposed register. Instead, the General Assembly should establish a group of governmental experts to study ways and means of promoting transparency in the field of armaments as a significant confidence-building measure, including, inter alia, the merits of establishing, under United Nations auspices, a universal, comprehensive, non-discriminatory and voluntary international reporting system to cover the production, stockpiling and transfer of armaments, delivery systems and armaments technology, taking into account the security irterests of member States and the need to maintain regional balance in the light of the specific characteristics of different regions. Member States must be given an opportunity to express their views on the proposed new study before the General Assembly pronounces itself on the subject of transparency in the field of armaments.

The wide disparity between the armaments expenditures of militarily strong States and of other States cannot be justified. Therefore, those States that possess large military arsenals should initiate reductions in military budgets. In efforts to reduce military expenditure, due consideration must be given to the security concerns of small and vulnerable States.

Owing to the rapid increase in the naval power of some States, the question of naval disarmament needs to be addressed urgently. The acquisition of aircraft carriers and nuclear-powered submarines by some regional States gives rise to grave concern among their smaller neighbours.

The danger of weapons deployed in space and directed against objects in space or on Earth is a matter for serious concern. The increasing danger of

(Mr. Refaqat, Pakistan)

the military uses of outer space as a result of scientific and technological advance leads us to believe that the existing legal regime, which imposes some restrictions on the military uses of outer space, is not enough to prevent an arms race in outer space.

It is important that the existing legal norms be strengthened and that they be supplemented with new rules, so that outer space may be reserved only for peaceful purposes. In this context, greater transparency in the activities of the space Powers would serve as an important confidence-building measure.

Today the use of space-based remote sensing and surveillance techniques offers a unique opportunity for disarmament agreements. This capability remains exclusively in the possession of a few technologically advanced States. We believe that these techniques should be made available, on an equal and non-discriminatory basis and through an appropriate international institution, to all countries.

The rapidly evolving global situation and dramatic changes unprecedented in recent history have given the decade of the 1990s a promising start. We now have a rare opportunity to adopt a fair, non-discriminatory and multilateral approach to disarmament, in a common endeavour to promote regional and international peace and security. The onus lies on all of us - whether here in the First Committee, in the United Nations Disarmament Commission or in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva - to seize this opportunity. Our aspirations are common, and our objective is clear. We must therefore act in unison to ensure a future in which hope will replace fear, and peace will be universal.

Mr. SILVA (Angola) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like, first, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. I wish you success in the conduct of the work of this major organ of the General Assembly. We are quite sure that your diplomatic skill, experience, qualifications and dedication cannot but assure us of proper guidance in our work and of a successful outcome. We congratulate the other officers of the Committee too and assure them that they can count on the full cooperation of my delegation.

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

It seems that mankind is becoming increasingly aware of the urgent need to enhance international cooperation in the field of arms control and disarmament. In our view, this is so because, among other things, there have been certain recent historic events which provide obvious lessons for the whole of mankind and which we must put to intelligent use. One of those facts is the war in the Persian Gulf, in which tens of billions of US dollars were spent apparently in order to punish a small aggressor country and to restore legality, but, at the same time and essentially, in order to test certain weapons which had never been tried out in combat and in order to verify their destructive capacity. More than saving a small victim country which had been occupied, the war demonstrated, in fact, the ability of certain countries which possess various types of weapons to impose their will by force and to dominate others.

During the course of the war, which favoured those possessing the most sophisticated weapons, propaganda was used to promote the quality of those weapons as a commodity worth acquiring if one wished to be respected and feared in the world. In a few days' time cities were destroyed, thousands and thousands of human lives were lost in cold blood, and countless economic and social objectives were destroyed. None the less, the quantity and diversity of the weapons used may mean rather little compared to the quantity and diversity of the weapons that now exist in the world.

While it is true that the war was won by those that had the best and most abundant weapons, it is also true that history has implacably recorded this profound madness which was displayed by all of those involved, without distinction between aggressor and those against whom aggression was committed, the defenders and the attackers, the winners and the losers, because by

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

engaging in an unconscionable war which should never have started, all of them had to sacrifice innocent lives, programmes of economic and social development and the needs and interests of their respective peoples, ignoring the needs of the neediest.

These and other facts related to the arms race prompt us to act in a reasonable manner and cannot fail to focus our thoughts on what is most beneficial for mankind: the arms race, with its dramatic and inevitable consequences, of which we are all aware, or disarmament and the allocation of the money thus saved to social and economic development programmes.

We favour, most emphatically, the second option. That is why Angola devotes considerable attention to the questions of arms control and disarmament. We welcomed with keen interest the decisions of the United States and the Soviet Union relating to the reduction and elimination of short-range nuclear weapons, intercontinental ballistic missiles and a moratorium on nuclear testing, as well as the announcement of reductions in overall defence spending over the next few years. We are quite sure that if the measures announced by the two super-Powers were promptly and fully put into effect, an atmosphere of mutual confidence would prevail between the two countries, which would help bring about other meaningful steps by them, as well as other disarmament measures by other countries which produce armaments. None the less, bearing in mind all that still needs to be done in the vast disarmament field, we feel that both the commitments contained in the strategic arms reduction Treaty (START) and other measures recently announced still constitute only timid steps. Angola is a small underdeveloped country. It has just emerged from a long war imposed on it from abroad since the time of its accession to independence. It was essential for us to defend our

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and, in particular, the life of our people. This was a most burdensome inheritance but one which, none the less, now appears to be a thing of the past.

We wish to take this opportunity to offer our sincere thanks to the Portuguese Government for its interest and efforts as a mediator in the peace negotiations, and also to the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union and to the United Nations Secretary-General for the important role played by his representatives as observers in the negotiating process.

The sad and bitter experience of the war of aggression inflicted on Angola is inevitably an important focal point in our thinking: thousands of defenceless citizens were killed, many of the elderly were left homeless, many children were made orphans, many factories, hospitals and schools were destroyed by enemy bombing. The economy became ever more critical and social problems became more serious. This, in fact, is the result of the arms race, which is the necessary and inevitable instrument of the expansionism of those countries which unjustly imposed war on us. Now that the war is over and now that conditions exist which are conducive to work in an atmosphere of peace, there is an urgent need for us to adopt the measures necessary to rebuild our nation. We need to revive our economy and to establish social development plans and programmes, objectives which we have always pursued since the dawn of our independence, in order to meet the needs of our people in an appropriate manner.

Angola, therefore, is naturally particularly interested in the questions of arms control and disarmament. However, as members well know, Angola is not enclosed in a glass jar; it is not isolated from today's world, a world in which, incredibly, it still seems that force prevails over reason. Angola

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

welcomes all initiatives aimed at the elimination of areas of tension in all regions of the world and guaranteeing the maintenance of international peace and security. But Angola is not free from the great danger which threatens the whole of mankind and which is a result, on the one hand, of the mere existence of such vast quantities of armaments - many of which have a death-dealing capacity from which the human conscience simply recoils in horror - and, on the other hand, we are not free from the danger of anachronistic ideals of the arms race and expansionism, which often cause people to see imaginary enemies where none really exist.

Angola is an underdeveloped country, situated in the most backward region of the world, Africa, a continent with the largest number of recently independent States, where colonial domination lasted the longest and where, accordingly, the negative effects of foreign domination are most acute. More than half the so-called least developed countries are in Africa. That is where we find the highest rates of illiteracy, infant mortality, undernourishment, lack of housing, shortages of food, clothing, drinking water and so forth. Accordingly, Africa needs a whole range of measures to allow it to emerge from the present situation.

However, in our condition we lack the conditions of absolute security that are needed in order for Governments to be able to devote themselves fully to matters of economic and social development. The development of the technological production of nuclear weapons by South Africa, with the full support of certain nuclear Powers, and the existence on our continent of foreign military bases, constitute a constant threat to peace and security and an obstacle to the normal development of our countries.

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

In the opinion of my delegation, the existence of foreign military bases on the territories of other States against the will of their inhabitants is a violation of the independence and sovereignty of such States and a constant threat to the peace and security not only of the countries in whose territories such bases are located but of neighbouring countries. We believe, therefore, that one of the most crucial aspects of disarmament is the need to dismantle the foreign military bases on the territories of other States.

With regard to nuclear disarmament, we wish to emphasize that all the steps taken so far by the two super-Powers at the bilateral level appear to be highly significant, at least at first glance. None the less, we maintain that that they are still timid steps and that much remains to be done, for our planet has an urgent need to rid itself of nuclear weapons. We therefore urge them to take further concrete and far-reaching measures, and we hope that their example will be followed by other nuclear Powers.

The cessation of all nuclear-weapons tests and the signing of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty - in this connection we welcome the Swedish proposal - are among the urgent preliminary measures to be adopted by the nuclear Powers. They would thus clearly demonstrate to the non-nuclear-weapon countries that they really have the political will to halt the production of such weapons.

At the same time, there is an urgent need to negotiate and ratify a multilateral treaty - while not ruling out the possibility of additional bilateral arrangements - on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, Angola attaches the utmost importance to initiatives to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace and to the constant

(Mr. Silva, Angola)

expansion of such zones as a necessary precondition for general and complete disarmament. Such initiatives must also take into account the need to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons.

In Africa, Angola supports the Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa. Nevertheless, we are concerned at South Africa's nuclear capability and its cooperation with certain nuclear Powers. This situation is an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration to which I have just referred.

We believe that the adoption of regional disarmament measures must not upset the parity between the States of the region concerned. We must eliminate the possibility of military supremacy if we are to guarantee peace and security.

Angola sees a strong, and, indeed, an inevitable, link between disarmament and development. The arms race necessarily entails a decrease in the amount of money available for economic and social development. For that reason, and bearing in mind the positive disarmament measures adopted by the two super-Powers, we favour the establishment of a fund for the economic and social development of developing countries, the money to come from the expected reduction in the military budgets of developed countries.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
Fourteenth meeting
held on
Wednesday, 23 October 1991
at 3 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALPMAN (Turkey)
(Vice-Chairman)

CONTENTS

- General debate on all disarmament items (continued)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Alpman (Turkey), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. HERNANDEZ (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of my delegation allow me first of all to join other delegations in congratulating Mr. Mroziewicz on his election as Chairman of the First Committee. Our congratulations also go to the other members of the Bureau.

Moreover, we should like to congratulate and thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, for his very enlightening statement on the work of the Department for Disarmament Affairs. In particular, we should like to express our thanks and appreciation for the scholarship programme which, under the auspices of the Department that he directs, has made such valuable contributions to the dissemination of information on disarmament matters. The Dominican Republic is participating for the second time in this programme, and we can testify to the value of the work being carried out.

I could not begin without paying a tribute to a great Latin American: Alfonso Garcia Robles. His unrelenting struggle for a more peaceful and safer world is enshrined in the Treaty of Tlatelolco and stands as an example for many generations to come.

We should also like to express the pain of our delegation at the loss of another colleague in the First Committee - Jack Gerardi Siebert. We shall always miss his collaboration and friendship.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The General Assembly and the First Committee began their work this year in an increasingly interdependent world. Ours is an era frequently beset by false values and subversive ideas. While it is a particularly dynamic period, the most sophisticated means of communication cannot keep pace with such rapid changes. Moreover, there is such uncertainty abroad that the boldest analysts would not dare try to estimate where we are headed and where it will all end.

In response to this constantly changing world, the United Nations has an opportunity to strengthen the just ideals that presided over its creation so as to ensure an Organization where all Members are truly equal, where none is "more equal" than others.

In an increasingly interdependent world, it is impossible to deny that war and peace, destruction and development and fear and insecurity are interrelated. For this reason, we consider that international security, disarmament and development are all closely related.

While the industrial and agricultural sectors continue to be productive, the terms of trade between the industrialized and the developing countries are unbalanced and unjust. While credit transactions are carried out in such great cities as New York, London and Tokyo, their effects are felt in every corner of the world.

The threat of a nuclear conflict, though it remains theoretical, continues to be a source of worldwide insecurity. The danger of an international economic depression continues to be a real possibility that might depend on the next decision taken by a Government or an international financial institution.

This state of affairs has kept the world order in a precariously delicate balance.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The third world countries have been the hardest hit by the present world order. The Latin American and Caribbean countries, in particular, are facing challenges simultaneously on different fronts: insecurity which poses the threat of a world war; the menacing trends in the international economic order; the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor countries; the vulnerability of the national economic systems; and the obstacles to the consolidation of democracy, social justice and freedom. All this is a source of insecurity and hence of conflict in the world, which is one of the reasons why peoples feel such insecurity.

Few can feel safe and tranquil in a world where an increasingly wider line divides mankind into two clearly different groups: one that is satisfied - troubled perhaps by some of the problems to which wealth and high levels of consumption give rise; and the other, the vast majority, that cannot satisfy even its most basic needs in terms of food, shelter and clothing, not to mention health, education and culture.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

We all feel increasingly insecure in this fragmented world because it is impossible in such circumstances for natural solidarity between members of the same species to flourish. The insecurity, arising from this and other sources - such as racial, political, ideological or religious intolerance and the reluctance to coexist of countries and peoples holding different creeds, philosophies or political and economic systems - is one cause of the arms race.

As regards security and confidence- and security-building measures, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, I should like to emphasize - without disregarding questions of war or diminishing their importance - that we cannot fail to identify as one of the main sources of distrust the economic and social circumstances in which the peoples of Latin America have been kept. There has been reference to a new international economic order brought about by current circumstances - and not by any decision of an international body - but we forget that when, in May 1974, the General Assembly at its sixth special session issued the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, all of us citizens of the third world, although optimistic, had a presentiment of powerlessness regarding the likelihood that these documents would be implemented by the industrialized world.

The response of the industrialized countries to our legitimate aspirations was too costly. Through a tenuous "economic assistance" that was offered to help us deal with our external indebtedness, transnational financial capital imposed the heaviest mortgage upon us, and the so-called new international economic order remains unfulfilled and even sometimes flouted by the industrialized countries. Hence, our longstanding distrust can only increase.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The sole rational solution lies in attacking the causes of insecurity by devoting to development and life a fraction of the resources now allocated to war and death. We have often heard, with a certain amount of pride, that ours is a peace-loving and harmonious region. However, the arms race in Latin America and the Caribbean has also defied all logic.

That is why my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General and the governmental experts who collaborated on the study before us for their valuable treatment of the subject of the international transfer of conventional weapons. This traffic in weapons, highly profitable for the mercenaries of war and death merchants, must be completely eliminated. It is outrageous that neighbouring countries with the same cultural roots, equally poor and lacking in resources, should consider each other as virtual potential enemies. How often, egged on by interests foreign to the region, have these brother countries engaged in wars financed by the centres of world power. Instead of devoting themselves to cooperation and mutually beneficial exchanges, they view one another suspiciously as the cause and justification for allocating millions of dollars to the purchase of tanks and planes rather than investing that money on infrastructure projects in the areas of health, schools and industry. In most cases, this benefits the military chiefs of the moment, in whose minds alone these rivalries exist or are invented.

What is worse, in the case of Governments arising from military coups, as happened recently in the sisterly Republic of Haiti, arms and munitions are directed against the people themselves, proving that so-called reasons of defence against external attacks are more pretext than justification. We cannot forget that overt, shameless interventionism, or threats of intervention, in many cases have afflicted developing countries, which for

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

that reason must often spend money in the defence of their sovereignty rather than devote themselves exclusively to investing in their own development.

The delegation of the Dominican Republic welcomed with particular satisfaction the results of the unilateral decisions and bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. These results certainly contributed to a relaxation of world tension. We hope that this will continue, not only bilaterally but also multilaterally, particularly within the framework of the United Nations.

We listened attentively to the statement of the President of the Conference on Disarmament, Ambassador Horacio Arteaga, concerning the current status of negotiations in Geneva on chemical weapons. We noted with satisfaction the progress on the existing consensus on the scope of the ban - in particular on article I, in which the parties pledge, regardless of circumstances, not to develop, produce, acquire in any way, stockpile or keep chemical weapons, nor to use or transfer such weapons directly or indirectly. The agreement reached also covers the destruction of these weapons, whether they be the property or under the jurisdiction or control of States parties.

As regards the convention itself, let us hope that the optimism expressed by Ambassador Arteaga and other representatives will become a reality and that our doubts regarding its dimension and budget will be clarified satisfactorily in the course of those negotiations. We see no reason why countries like mine, with no intention of manufacturing these weapons, much less the opportunity to do so, and having suffered the constant fear of their use, must contribute economically to the absolution of sins that they had no thought of committing.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

We are confident that the progress in the negotiations on biological and radiological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will free us from that terror, from which only a handful of death merchants have profited to the detriment of the entire world population.

As regards bacteriological weapons, our Government was pleased to note the success of the Third Review Conference of the Convention on the subject, in particular the reiteration of its rejection of the existence of this type of weapon of mass destruction.

As to the nuclear non-proliferation regime, my country has always been concerned about the discriminatory nature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, despite the fact that we ratified it. The Treaty imposes the banning of nuclear weapons on those who do not possess them and allows the five nuclear Powers to possess and develop such weapons. To put it differently, its principal purpose, in practice, is to limit the number of nuclear-weapon States to the current five. A more just and non-discriminatory treaty is essential in order to put a definitive halt not only to the vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, but also to their possession by any State.

The challenge ahead is for us to join forces to reduce our weapons to a minimum through the implementation of true democracy, not just democracy without unconstitutional and repressive Governments, nor simply democracy with a multiparty system and changes of Governments, which are sometimes sterile. Democracy must be a political model whereby peoples can free themselves from all the injustices inflicted on them. It must be a source of true confidence and security, free from the awful fear of weapons and wars.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The changes that keep coming more quickly than we can grasp them are a challenge we cannot conceive in terms of nations or continents. Today we are all in the very midst of the conflict between peace and destruction, development and poverty. And to find stable, just solutions we must understand the causes of that conflict; we must face up to them with responsibility and courage.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): It gives me great pleasure to convey my delegation's warm congratulations to Mr. Robert Mroziewicz of Poland on his unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under the able guidance of so distinguished a diplomat our work will be crowned with success. My congratulations go also to the other members of the Bureau. Allow me to express, on behalf of my delegation, our deepest appreciation to the past Chairman, Mr. Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal, for the impeccable manner in which he presided over last year's deliberations.

My delegation would also like to express well-deserved words of congratulation and appreciation to Mr. Akashi, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, and his staff in the Department for Disarmament Affairs for the excellent manner in which that Department has been performing its complex duties. We highly value the seminars and workshops organized by the Department on various issues of disarmament and confidence-building, especially those held in our region. Mozambique has had the privilege of attending two such seminars, and they were enormously beneficial.

We are living in an age of unprecedented, historic events. Among the most impressive and dramatic occurrences is the graphic change in the major

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

Powers' perception of the importance of disarmament. Mankind has come to understand at last the imperative need to halt the arms race and eliminate its inherent risk of extinction.

The cold war, it appears, destructively fed itself on the rearmament and militarization of societies, through the arms race. Within the context of the new post-cold-war climate in international relations, however, policies favouring the continued development and stockpiling of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, have gradually lost their main justification.

Very recently, dramatic events have taken place in the field of nuclear-arms reduction. These events, which include bilateral and unilateral nuclear-disarmament measures, are indicative of the fact that the positive spirit and the enthusiasm which began with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) are still very much alive.

Last July, the President of the United States and the President of the USSR signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. The final journey to that event was the culmination of long and sometimes very tedious negotiations between the parties involved. We commend them for their perseverance and their achievement. We see the completion of that agreement as being in the interest of the entire international community.

In addition, we note that on 27 September President George Bush announced proposals for the substantive reduction of United States nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union immediately reciprocated with its own proposals for reductions in nuclear weapons. My delegation would like to join others in expressing satisfaction at those bold undertakings by the two nuclear super-Powers.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We are hopeful that the same spirit of flexibility and realism demonstrated at the bilateral level will be shown by the United Nations and the Conference on Disarmament.

The goal of a comprehensive ban on all nuclear tests continues to be elusive. We encourage Mr. Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister of Indonesia and President of the Amendment Conference of the States parties to the test-ban Treaty, to intensify his efforts and consultations with a view to finding common ground for the reconvening of the Conference on converting the 1963 partial test ban into a comprehensive test ban. We further urge all parties to display a sense of good will by working constructively towards the success of the efforts of Mr. Alatas.

The Conference on Disarmament is reputed to be the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating forum. Yet its Ad Hoc Committee dealing with the nuclear-test ban lacks a negotiating mandate. The lack of a negotiating mandate degrades the importance of the test-ban issue and denies credibility to the Conference on Disarmament as well.

Nuclear disarmament will come into its own when all nuclear Powers engage in concerted and decisive efforts to rid the world of those terrible weapons. A comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests would be one of the most practical first steps towards collective nuclear-arms control and disarmament.

The success of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban will require the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime to make it more effective and more universal in character. The discriminatory character of the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons needs to be changed in order to make membership in the regime more attractive to all States.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We note with satisfaction the announcements by France and by China to the effect that they intend to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. Their status as nuclear States and also as permanent members of the Security Council lends significant importance to their announced decisions. Similarly, my delegation would like to commend and welcome the decisions of the sister countries of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. As I announced in this Committee last year, Mozambique has already acceded to that Treaty. Thus, we now have almost the entire region of southern Africa committed to the ideals of non-proliferation.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

South Africa's decision last July to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty is indeed a matter of some satisfaction to my delegation. In doing so, South Africa has taken a step which is likely to build confidence in the region and on the continent as a whole.

This year's resolution GC(XXXV)/1982 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) requests

> "the Director General to verify the completeness of the inventory of South Africa's nuclear installations and material and to report to the Board of Governors and to the General Conference at its thirty-sixth regular session."

In this context, strict observance of the commitment undertaken by South Africa under the non-proliferation regime, including the submission of all its nuclear facilities to IAEA safeguards, will help dissipate the continuing sense of mistrust and suspicion over South Africa's nuclear-weapon programme. In doing so, South Africa will also help remove one of the most important obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. Recent events have established that participation in the non-proliferation Treaty does not by itself guarantee full compliance by the parties to it. We must therefore continue to be vigilant in the quest for a nuclear-weapon-free Africa.

The events in the Gulf region have helped to bring the issue of the dangerous proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly chemical weapons, to the forefront of international concern. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction over the significant progress on the issue of the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons achieved at the Conference on Disarmament. We are gratified by the flexibility displayed by certain

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

delegations on the contentious matter of retaliation. We are equally pleased that the issue of the retention of 2 per cent of chemical weapon stocks for ten years after the convention entered into force has been resolved.

The Ad Hoc Committee on chemical weapons expects to conclude its work by next year. Therefore we call upon all Member States to continue to work constructively to overcome the remaining obstacles - in particular, the issue of verification.

The Third Review Conference of Parties to the Convention on biological and toxic weapons concluded its work last September with significant progress towards the strengthening of the treaty's regime. In this context, we welcome the establishment of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts to study practical and acceptable proposals on verification measures at present lacking in the Convention.

The issue of conventional arms has lately gathered momentum because of the growing awareness of - in the words of the Secretary-General -

"the mounting toll of death, destruction and human suffering inflicted by the use of conventional weapons around the world."

It is recognized that since the Second World War this category of weapons has been used in more than 150 conflicts and has claimed more than 20 million lives. It is against this background that the issue of international arms transfers and regional approaches to disarmament is increasingly becoming one of the most important issues on our agenda.

My delegation wishes to express its support for the proposal to establish a United Nations register of conventional arms transfers. We believe it is important that the concerns and proposals of non-aligned countries on the subject should be taken into account. The issue of transparency of

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

international arms transfers deserves meticulous study and consideration. This is a complex issue, and its ramifications are a challenge to developing countries, especially, within the context of indigenous defence production capabilities, security needs and regional imbalances.

We are of the view that confidence-building measures can be an effective way of reducing suspicions which encourage arms competition and confict, especially at the regional level.

I would borrow the following statement from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar. He said in his report on the work of the Organization:

> "Over the years, however, the cold war overshadowed the whole field of arms limitation and disarmament. The perspectives that have now been opened should enable us to weave collective approaches in this field more tightly into the fabric of peace-making and conflict control. The opportunities now presented to us are not likely to remain open indefinitely." (A/46/1, p. 11)

The Government of Mozambique has spared no efforts in its pursuit of peace within the country as well as in the region. My Government, as is well known, is engaged now in negotiations to bring about lasting peace within its territories. The peace efforts are taking place alongside the creation of an appropriate political climate, in which every Mozambican can freely exercise his political rights.

The relentless pursuit of peace by my Government has begun to bear some fruit. Last Friday the Government and the RENAMO rebels came to an agreement on a protocol on fundamental principles. Under this protocol, both parties

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

have agreed to commit themselves to work expeditiously towards the early conclusion of a cease-fire agreement - under international control, if need be.

Thus, with respect to regional peace and security in southern Africa, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, echoed my Government's views when he said:

"Measures of confidence-building and collective security mechanisms must be deployed in order to prevent resurgence of new conflicts in the region."

We are encouraged by recent successes in the regional efforts for disarmament. We remain convinced, however, that disarmament in some regions should not lead to arms transfers to other regions. This would be at variance with the current trend in arms control and disarmament.

The importance of the regional approach to disarmament lies not only in the field of conventional disarmament but, perhaps more importantly, in its potential ability to enhance international peace and security through agreements for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

In this context, my delegation commends the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean on the completion of the preparatory work for the convening of the United Nations Conference on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, to be held in Colombo in 1992. Mozambique, as Vice-Chairman of that Committee, urges all its members to work constructively for the fulfilment of the objectives of the Declaration.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We urge the First Committtee to explore innovative initiatives to improve its work in order to guarantee a more successful outcome of its deliberations. The Committee should translate the favourable climate in the international arena into meaningful discussions and agreements on the issues on its agenda.

Let me conclude by noting that one of the major expectations from the easing of tensions and the consequent progress in disarmament is the reallocation of resources and energies to address other major challenges faced by humanity. Underdevelopment and the degradation of the environment are some of the most pressing problems whose practical solutions seem to defy our collective wisdom. In this context and pursuant to the decisions and understandings reached at the 1987 International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, we call for the reallocation to development purposes, especially for the benefit of developing countries, of a portion of the resources released through disarmament measures. This is another area, we believe, in which the United Nations could play a major coordinating role.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): I should like, at the outset, to add my voice and that of my delegation to the congratulations extended to Mr. Mroziewicz, as well as to other members of the Bureau, on his election to preside over the deliberations of our Committee. In discharging his duties, he can count on the full support and cooperation of the Tanzania delegation.

I should also like to join in the warm tributes paid to the memory of the late Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles who is best remembered for his immense contribution to the cause of disarmament and world peace. But for his passing away he would have been among us today contributing vigorously to our discussion. There is, therefore, no better occasion for friends to honour his

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

memory than the present debate on disarmament. I did not know him as well as many of his friends in this Committee, but I had the good fortune to be associated with him in the six-nation initiative throughout the five years of its existence. I have met few people so deeply committed to a good cause. Even when he disagreed with you he would not give less than full attention to your views, and his unfailing courtesy made a deep impression on all who met him. It is not just Mexico which will miss his service and counsel. We are all the poorer for his passing away.

We are once again meeting against the background of unprecedented developments in the international arena. In the past few weeks alone we have witnessed two initiatives which have marked a significant turning-point in the disarmament field. The proposals for deep nuclear arms cuts announced by President Bush on 27 September 1991 and the reciprocal response by President Gorbachev of 5 October have spurred optimism for a possible major breakthrough in nuclear disarmament. As many have acknowledged, the proposals and measures outlined by both leaders for the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, coupled with the two previous agreements - the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF) and the strategic arms limitation talks (START) - represent the most far-reaching nuclear disarmament agreements since the advent of the nuclear age. This is indeed a most welcome development.

But welcome as these developments may be, the world community cannot afford to slacken its call for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons; for while it is true that the two super-Powers now appear to be willing to assume their responsibility to rid the world of the menace created by the nuclear-arms race, it is equally true that the agreements between them and the

(Mr. Ryaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

nuclear cuts announced subsequently leave them still with a nuclear overkill capacity - enough to destroy the world many times over. For example, following the signing of the START agreement, analysts pointed out that the levels of strategic weapons the United States of America and the Soviet Union finally agreed to retain in their arsenals are numerically at the same level as when they began negotiating nine years ago and about five times their number when the non-proliferation Treaty was signed in 1968. Above all, the process does not involve other nuclear-weapon States whose stocks equally threaten the existence of humanity.

We point this out, not to minimize the significance of the unilateral American and Soviet initiatives, but to show how far we still have to go to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. But the initiatives remain bold and unprecedented, and Presidents Bush and Gorbachev deserve to be congratulated on the foresight and courage they have shown.

These unilateral initiatives have once again demonstrated that, given the necessary political will, nothing is insurmountable. In this connection, we hope that the two leaders will follow up the indications they have now given that they are prepared to go further than their announcements. There are now good prospects for further reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, both land- and sea-based. At the very least we hope that the two super-Powers will now feel able to raise the reductions from the 30 per cent agreed in the START Agreement to the original target of 50 per cent. We hope too that the United States of America will now be able to reciprocate the Soviet Union's offer of a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing. In putting forward the initiative last month, President Bush predicted that, if the Soviet Union responded with

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

equally bold measures, further cooperation was inevitable. President Gorbachev has met and exceeded the challenge in so far as regards nuclear testing. We urge the United States of America to respond positively.

It is again a matter of regret that the progress made unilaterally or at the bilateral level has not been matched by progress at the multilateral level where we are all involved. The statement by the President of the Conference on Disarmament and the Conference omnibus report (A/46/27) now before the Committee, leaves no doubt that the work done in that body leaves much to be desired. The widely acclaimed "positive international atmosphere" does not seem to have permeated the work of the only multilateral body entrusted with negotiating and concluding multilateral disarmament agreements. My delegation is, however, not unaware of the progress made in the negotiations on a chemical-weapons-ban convention. We are encouraged by the optimism shown by the major participants in the negotiations regarding the prospects for the conclusion of a draft convention by the spring of next year - to be specific, by May 1992. While this is indeed welcome, we cannot however fail to express our disappointment with the slow pace of negotiations concerning other issues listed as priority items on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. It is sad to note that, after nearly three decades now, serious negotiations covering three areas which constitute the cornerstone of nuclear disarmament - a nuclear-test ban, cessation of the nuclear-arms race and prevention of nuclear war - have yet to start. Year after year, discussions on these items have not advanced beyond the preliminary exchange of views. For the process of disarmament to be considered irreversible, it has to be reflected at all levels, all stages complementing one another in order to achieve the ultimate goal of total and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

It is therefore our fervent hope that the expressed commitment by all States to total disarmament will be demonstrated in all multilateral forums. This Committee provides the universal forum for charting the best course and path towards our goals and objectives as set forth in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Let us therefore all work together to advance the goals to which we collectively subscribe in the search for international peace, security and development.

I should now like to say a word about the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which has recently received a tremendous boost through the accession of a number of States, including my own. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to thank all those who have commended Tanzania's recent accession to the Treaty. As many will recall, Tanzania's position with regard to the non-proliferation Treaty has been largely critical. We opposed the Treaty not because we have any nuclear ambitions - we have neither the ability nor the wish to go nuclear - but because of its discriminatory nature and because of the failure of the nuclear-weapon Powers to live up to their obligations under the Treaty.

Our accession to the Treaty has not changed our long-standing position with regard to the major flaws inherent in it. We still regard the effect of the Treaty - if not its objective - as disarming the unarmed and arming the armed. Nevertheless, as a demonstration of our abiding commitment to nuclear disarmament, Tanzania decided to review its position on the Treaty so as to deny its critics any further excuse not to shoulder their responsibility with regard to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Tanzania's refusal to sign the non-proliferation Treaty was essentially a protest position. Although not wholly allaying our fears, the progress made by the super-Powers

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

in nuclear disarmament has encouraged us to hope that this gesture on our part will stimulate movement in the remaining areas.

We should like to repeat what we have always stated, namely, that we consider the most reliable means of checking the escalation of the nuclear-arms race, sustaining non-proliferation and averting the risk of a nuclear war to be the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty that would halt all forms of nuclear testing. The conclusion of such a treaty would go a long way towards proving the commitment of the nuclear Powers to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and genuine disarmament negotiations.

The future of the non-proliferation Treaty will largely depend on the willingness of the nuclear-weapon States to stop all nuclear tests and conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty that will ban such tests at all times and in all environments. Short of that, no meaningful disarmament measures could stand the test of time in halting and eventually reversing the nuclear-arms race. As analysts have rightly observed, if the nuclear Powers continue to test, develop, produce and deploy new or modernized nuclear weapons, and even if the numbers and the most destabilizing weapons are reduced, there will still be no cessation of the nuclear-arms race and not much hope for a final elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Amendment Conference of the States parties to the partial test-ban Treaty, held early in January this year, was yet another effort to bring to the fore the urgent need to conclude a comprehensive test ban. The international community had expected appropriate cooperation on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers that are parties to the Treaty. Regrettably, the attitude of two depositary Powers led many to question their professed commitment to non-proliferation.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

My delegation strongly commends the efforts of the President of the Conference, Mr. Ali Alatas, who, through his consultations, has sought, under rather difficult circumstances, to carry out the mandate entrusted to him. We hope his efforts will result in the reconvening of another stage of the Amendment Conference in 1992 in a bid to achieve a comprehensive test-ban treaty. My delegation will continue to lend him all its support and full cooperation in this endeavour.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace has acquired increasing significance in the overall context of regional disarmament initiatives. Tanzania's support for such zones has been guided by its conviction that such steps will strengthen regional peace and security and contribute towards comprehensive efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament.

In this regard we have consistently called for the denuclearization of Africa through the implementation of the 1964 Declaration by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the establishment of a nuclear-free-zone in Africa. At its last session the General Assembly took a further step in this direction by adopting resolution 45/56 A, which inter alia, requested the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance that the OAU might seek regarding the convening a meeting of experts to examine the modalities and elements for the preparation of a formal convention or treaty on the denuclearization of Africa. Accordingly, the Group of Experts met at Addis Ababa, and Tanzania was fortunate to be able to send an an expert to that meeting. The Group's report is before us in document A/C.1/46/9, and I should like to commend it to the Committee.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

The commitment of African countries to the Declaration is unquestionable. In the past our efforts to achieve the objectives of the Declaration have been frustrated by the policies of the apartheid regime of South Africa and its nuclear-weapon ambitions.

An atmosphere of alarming credulity has greeted the recent signing of the non-proliferation Treaty by the South African regime. While that is indeed a welcome development, my delegation will need to see more than the regime's signature on the Treaty and on the safeguard agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to accept the assurances of a sincere desire to contribute to ensuring the security of countries in the region and to a nuclear-free Africa. South Africa's nuclear-weapon capability is a reality that has not been diminished by its accession to the non-proliferation Treaty. Despite recent positive developments in South Africa, the apartheid regime remains in power, and it policies and practices remain deeply entrenched in the country. In signing the Treaty, South Africa has neither renounced its aggressive policies, forgone its nuclear ambitions nor destroyed its nuclear weapons. We believe those countries that have power and influence on the regime should guarantee that South Africa lives up to the letter and spirit of the non-proliferation Treaty and of the agreements reached with the IAEA. We know enough of that regime to know that this is one area where blind trust would be dangerous. The methods and techniques developed recently will need to be applied to ensure compliance.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

As a littoral State of the Indian Ocean, Tanzania has consistently expressed its strong desire and has worked tirelessly in all forums to see the realization of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace become a reality. As members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, we have participated in all its sessions for almost two decades now. It is a matter of deep regret that there are still obstacles to the convening in Colombo of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean, which will pave the way for the implementation of the Declaration.

Regrettably, the prevailing positive international atmosphere has not facilitated the preparatory work undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee for more than a decade. It is the hope of my delegation that the optimism generated by recent disarmament initiatives will have a positive effect on the continuing efforts, thus enabling us to achieve the objectives of the Declaration in the near future. My delegation will continue to lend its full support to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. We have come a long way in the preparatory process and it would be a disservice to the objectives of the Declaration if we were to slacken our efforts to reach our final goal, that is, the realization of peace and security in the Indian Ocean and its surrounding areas.

The subject of international arms transfers has attracted increased attention recently and following the issuance of the report of the Group of Experts (A/46/301) of 9 September 1991, the Committee must now attempt to forge a consensus on how to promote transparency on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, taking into account the legitimate interests of all nations. Several initiatives have been, and continue to be, undertaken by several groups of States aimed at launching measures to regulate international arms transfers. The report of the Group of Experts established to study the

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

issue of such transfers and transparency is before the Committee. My delegation understands and supports the legitimate measures genuinely intended to regulate such transfers without prejudicing the legitimate transfers necessary for the security of nations. We understand and sympathize with the desire to put an end to the illicit arms trade and we trust that all nations will cooperate to deny the merchants of death the huge profits they reap from this sordid business.

The major industrial Powers maintain a monopoly over the world's armaments, especially over their development and production. Unfortunately, by focusing on the needs of the small nations, most of which maintain relatively low levels of armaments for their legitimate defence needs, some of the proposals before the Committee appear to have ignored this reality. The proposals now being advanced by the group of European countries should be examined with this in mind. My delegation will find it difficult to lend support to proposals which place the burden of sacrifice on small nations which are only importers of modest armaments for legitimate reasons. It cannot be right to pursue a policy that ensures undiminished security for the major Powers, while resulting in diminished security for smaller and weaker nations.

In conclusion, let me state that all the disarmament issues before our Committee have a direct bearing on our future existence on this planet. The future existence of mankind is a matter of common interest to all of us and we all have a role to play in ensuring it. The quest for global security underscores our commonly shared goals, which transcend the different geographical and political systems which we represent. Tanzania has always believed that by working for peace, disarmament and universal security, we

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

shall be working for a better future for ourselves and coming generations. By our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, we committed ourselves to the duty of bringing peace to the world through the prevention of war, particularly nuclear war. We reaffirm our continued commitment to this goal.

Finally, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to extend our sincere appreciation and gratitude to the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and his dedicated staff, for the valuable support and assistance they have given to our work and the various disarmament activities, particularly in our region. We commend their efforts and pledge our continued support.

Mr. AL-SARKAL (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a source of pleasure for me to extend on behalf of the United Arab Emirates my congratulations to the Chairman and to all the members of the Bureau. I hope that our deliberations in this Committee will be in the best interest of Member States and of mankind at large.

Our Committee meets in special circumstances after the end of the cold war and the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament, particularly following the initiative of President Bush on 27 September 1991 to eliminate all short-range nuclear weapons as well as the initiative of Mr. Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union, on 5 October 1991. There are new international developments which affect the peoples of the world and reflect upon the question of disarmament.

The peoples of the world have begun to learn that democracy is the road to progress and freedom and that, as such, it strengthens trade relations, communication between peoples, enhances international cooperation, leads to

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

ending centralized domination and thereby makes it possible to achieve security and prosperity. However, we must not rejoice and declare that a new international order has emerged. For a new world order cannot emerge from any one particular event. We still face many difficult challenges. The most important challenges in this era are those we face in the areas of education, culture, the protection of children. These are the challenges which confront the new international order and which that order will have to face up to if it is to restore security, stability, prosperity and democracy to the world. The basic norms that govern international relations are mutual respect for sovereignty, commitment to non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, coequality and peaceful coexistence. These are the fundamentals that should characterize a new type of international relations.

It is now proven that conflicts can be resolved through national conciliation, balance of interests, negotiation between all the parties concerned and the free expression of will. The main event that led to the proposal by the European Community for a register of weapons transfers was the Gulf crisis and the Iraqi invasion of the State of Kuwait. The limitation and reduction of military expenditures on a global scale would be a major contribution towards disarmament as it will result in the rechannelling of resources to economic and social development. The relationship between disarmament and development is s competitive one, as they compete not only for the resources of the world but also for the attitudes and concepts which govern people's decisions. The world has to make a choice between persisting in the arms race or proceeding speedily towards a more stable and more balanced economic and social development, in the context of a new economic and social order that is much more viable.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

The relationship between disarmament and development should be viewed in the context of the ending arms race which swallows up more than it should of the world's human, financial, natural and technological resources, and thus places a heavy burden on the economies of all countries. Given the fact that as far as the developed and developing countries are concerned, the world's resources, which are finite, are under heavy strains, a reduction of the world's military spending can result in a significant contribution to the process of development. Disarmament could contribute effectively to that process. The reduction of military budgets, in and by itself, would be the means of reallocating additional resources to the economic and social development, especially of developing countries, over and above the fact that such reduction would lead eventually to disarmament.

Development should not continue to be exposed to the danger of falling victim to the arms race, while disarmament can make a significant contribution to development.

Disarmament and development have a close and multidimensional relationship. Each of them can have an impact at the national, regional, and global level, in sucha way as to create an environment of peace, prosperity and economic and social development. Without this relationship, mankind would live in an environment of murder, hatred, envy and various forms of war. We must work together so that we live in a world of understanding in which its resources are not directed to militarization but to economic and social development - a world in which we do not think of war but of peace.

Hence, the entire world looks forward to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that will be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and to the efforts to be exerted to fight desertfication and to protect

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

the resources of the great forests and the biological diversity of the world and its oceans and seas.

The map of the world is composed of all States. Militarily, there are those countries which produce conventional, biological, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and then there are those countries which produce and export those weapons to the highest bidder.

If we look at the arms-importing countries, some of them do so in order to protect their stability, security and their people. These are countries that wish to live in peace and defend themselves from external aggression. On the other hand, there are other countries which stockpile arms of all types for aggressive purposes while their peoples are in desperate need of economic and social development. Unfortunately, their peoples are powerless. An example of this is what happened recently in Iraq, which is known to all.

There is another State, such as Israel, which is not one of the signatories to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and therefore, there is no mechanism that can inspect its nuclear or other weapons. It is in the interest of the world for Israel not to develop nuclear weapons. But who is going to compel Israel not to manufacture such weapons? It is not a signatory to NPJ and its facilities are not subject to inspection. We must not forget also the close military and nuclear cooperation between Israel and South Africa.

Security and stability are the objectives of all peoples. Security is fundamental for both disarmament and development. However, security consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects. Enhancement of security can, on the one hand, create conditions conducive to disarmament, and at the other, provide

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

the environment and confidence required for the successful pursuit of development. The development process, by overcoming the non-military threats to security and contributing to a more stable and sustainable international system, can enhance security and thereby promote arms reduction and disarmament. Disarmament would enchance security directly and indirectly. A process of disarmament that ensures undiminished security at increasingly diminished levels of armament would make possible the allocation of additional resources to the task of addressing non-military challenges to security and thus result in enhanced overall security.

The use or threat of use of force in international relations, external intervention, armed aggression, foreign occupation, colonial domination, and all forms of racial discrimination, violation of territorial integrity, of national sovereignty, of the right to self-determination, and the encroachment on the right of all nations to pursue their economic and social development free from outside interference constitute threats to international peace and security. International security will be guaranteed in turn to the extent that peaceful and negotiated solutions to regional conflicts are promoted.

The current level of global military spending in pursuit of security interests reflects approximately 6 per cent of the world's gross national product and has been estimated to be more than 20 times as large as all official development assistance to developing countries. During the 1980s global military expenditure has grown on an average at a faster rate than during the second half of the 1970s.

It has been estimated that global spending on military research and development represents approximately one quarter of the world's expenditure on all types of research and development.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

The opportunity cost of military expenditures over the past 40 years has been and continues to be borne both by developed and developing countries, as there is a pressing need for additional resources for development in both groups of countries. In developing countries, it has been estimated that close to 1 billion people are below the poverty line, 780 million people are undernourished, 850 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have no access to medical facilities, an equally large number are unemployed, and 1 billion people are inadquately housed. All this is due to the impact of military spending on the world economy.

The disarmament dividend may be obtained in a variety of forms. These could include trade expansion, technological transfers, more efficient utilization of global resources, more effective and dynamic international division of labour, reduction of public debt and budgetary deficits, and increased flows of resources through development assistance, commercial and other private flows or transfers of resources to the developing countries.

We are encouraged by the recent initiatives of the two major nuclear Powers, both of which have a great responsibility. The two powers have publicly and officially announced that they are trying to reach the final stages of bilateral negotiations aimed at the total eradication of nuclear weapons. In addition, our hopes are raised by the public's growing awareness of the destructive capacity of weapons arsenals and the waste that growing military expenditures constitute. Moreover, this awareness leads to the general perception that national security cannot be achieved in isolation, since the dangers which threaten mankind threaten all nations, large and small, rich and poor, weak and strong.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

Our world is threatened as a result of these arms arsenals which can blow it up, and by the heavy burden of military expenditures in which we could drown, and as a result of this, the basic needs of two thirds of the world's population are not met, and they live at the poverty line, using less than one third of the world's resources.

We are of those who believe that this world is on loan to us from our children, just as we inherited it from our forefathers. The resources of the world are not infinite, and the need for national security is legitimate, but we should not stand by as impotent witnesses while the world veers towards a situation of less-security-at-greater-cost.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.